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National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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THE STANDARD.

SPEECH OF WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON,

AT THE
ANTI-SLAVERY CELEBRATION AT FRAMINGHAM,

July 4, 1861.

MR. PRESIDENT: I have not attempted to address an audience for the last ten months, in consequence of a bronchial difficulty, from which I have been slowly recovering. It gives me no pleasure to speak when I cannot make myself distinctly heard, and I am sure it gives others no pleasure to hear me, if my voice comes to them broken and faint. I have, therefore, been silent during the day; always, indeed, preferring to hear others, rather than myself. My time to speak was thirty years ago, and I improved the opportunity (applause). But, to-day, when thousands of tongues are loosed to plead the glorious cause of universal freedom, why should I be called to take this stand? "To gild refined gold, to paint the lily, is wasteful and ridiculous excess" ; and in this roar of cannon and clashing of arms, I am well content to be silent.

Of course, I believe that all our difficulties are in consequence of the existence of slavery in our country; that is the evil fountain from which all our bitter waters have flowed; and that this will prove an almost idiotic war, if it shall not end in the total abolition of slavery (applause). I do not believe the government can have the success it is seeking in this struggle, unless liberty shall be proclaimed by it "throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof." I voted, therefore, very cordially, for the resolution offered by my friend Mr. Foster, calling upon the government to seize this favorable opportunity, which, in the providence of God, has been put into its hands, to finish the war, to remove the root of bitterness forever from among us, and to make it possible for us to mingle together, North and South, like kindred drops, and form a Union based upon justice and freedom, from the Atlantic to the Pacific (applause). I believe we are growing up to this conviction in accordance with the sentiments of John Quincy Adams, rehearsed in the hearing of the nation on several occasions, declaring it perfectly constitutional, on the part of the government, under the war power, in an exigency like the present, to abolish the slave system at a blow; and I say there ought to go up one voice from all parts of the country, demanding of the Commander-in-chief of our army, that he immediately let the slaves of the South go Scott free! (Laughter and applause.)

There are those who say that the war is not waged to abolish slavery. Granted! It is to uphold the flag. Granted! It is to maintain the government. Granted! But this is certain—the government and the flag—as my friend Mr. Wright, so justly observed—are now regarded with fierce malignity and unexampled hatred by the slave oligarchy, and utterly repudiated by them; and, for one, in this anomalous state of things, I do not feel disposed to be severely critical upon President Lincoln—at least, as long as he makes himself an outlaw south of Mason and Dixon's line, in company with myself! (Applause.) Indeed, after so long a time, I am getting into very respectable society (laughter). Even Edward Everett, to-day, in the city of New York, utters language which would make it perilous for him to show himself in any part of the Southern Confederacy. So, whether he likes it or not, he stands by his side, involved in the same condemnation; and they would give him a coat of tar and feathers as readily as they would me. "This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvelous in our eyes" (applause).

I cannot say that I do not sympathize with the government, as against Jefferson Davis and his piratical associates. There is not a drop of blood in my veins, but as an Abolitionist and a peace man, that does not flow with the Northern tide of sentiment; for I see, in this grand uprising of the manhood of the North, which has been so long groveling in the dust, a growing appreciation of the value of liberty and of free institutions, and a willingness to make any sacrifice in their defense against the barbaric and tyrannical power which avows its purpose, if it can, to crush them entirely out of existence. When the government shall succeed (if it shall succeed) in "conquering a peace" in subjugating the South, and shall undertake to carry out the Constitution as of old, with all its pro-slavery compromises, then will be my time to criticize, reprove and condemn; then will be the time for me to open all the guns that I can bring to bear upon it. But, blessed be God, that "covenant with death" has been annulled, and that "agreement with hell" no longer stands. I joyfully accept the fact, and leave all verbal criticism until a more suitable opportunity. There is no American Union as hitherto. Eleven of the slave States are in the Southern Confederacy, and the government maintains its power over the others only by Northern bayonets. All the slave States are a unit, except so far as they are kept down by those bayonets. Surely, that is not the old Union! Subjugation and conquest are not fraternity and peace! And we shall not again unite, though in saying this, I frankly declare that my faith is not so much in the virtue of the North as in the disunion of the South ("hear, hear"). It is because God has "given them over to believe a lie, that they may be damned"—and their damnation is sure (applause).

Under these circumstances, I take great courage, and am full of hope. I should say, "Shame to the people of the North!" if they did not, with their principles, and their ideas of government, come up to the support of the Administration, offering all they have of blood and treasure, until this band of conspirators shall be put down, and slavery utterly obliterated. What we ought to do is to take the resolution, for it everywhere, and create a great Northern sentiment, which shall irresistibly demand of the Administration, under the war power, the emancipation of every slave in the land; and then God will give us peace and prosperity, and we shall have, for the first time, a "great and glorious Union" (applause).

Oh, Mr. President, how it delights my heart when I think the worst thing that God or men can do! That is the very best thing that God or men can do! Then while they are confounding our property, refusing to pay their honest Northern debts, covering the ocean with their piratical privateers, tarring and feathering, hanging, and driving out innocent Northern citizens from their borders, all we threaten to do, in the excess of our wrath, as a retaliatory measure, is to abolish their iniquitous and destructive slave system, and thus give them light for darkness, good for evil, heaven for perdition! (Loud applause.) Yes, we will make it possible for them to be a happy and prosperous people, as they never have been, and never will be, with slaves. We will make it possible for them to have free schools, and free presses, and free institutions, as we do at the North. We will make it possible for the South to be "as a garden of God, under the plastic touch of liberty; and for the nation to attain unparalleled glory, greatness and renown. Assuredly, we have no enmity to the South; the enmity is on the other side. Liberia knows how to be magnanimous, forbearing, long-suffering, patient, hopeful; and therefore it is that, in the very whirlwind which is now sweeping over the land, Southern men are safely residing among us as they ever did! They are not threatened with tar and feathers, nor compelled to flee from our presence, because of their Southern origin, but enjoy unimpeded all their constitutional rights. The brutality, the barbarity, the demonism, are all at the South. Yet, I pray you to

TRUE GREATNESS. The only true greatness consists in unconquerable purpose of obedience to God. It consists in adhering with energy and courage to truth and honor. It consists in taking our rules of conduct and honor. It consists in our own minds, enlightened by revelation and following our own deliberate convictions of right and wrong. Yours, from lang syne, and forever.

Resolved, that, as citizens deeply interested in the honor and welfare of our common country, we do, once demand an act of emancipation to all our enslaved countrymen, wherever settled, as the only honorable, just and efficient means of settling our present national troubles, and establishing our Union upon a solid and enduring basis.

WHAT THE "CONTRABAND" DOCTRINE WILL DO.

From The Boston Atlas and Bee.

We are permitted to print, with the omission of the signature, the following letter, by a citizen of Massachusetts, addressed to a member of the Cabinet at Washington:

BOSTON, June 29th, 1861.

MY DEAR SIR: Though I can hardly hope you will have three minutes to spare from imperative duties to read this sheet, I cannot help writing. I have given the best part of my life, as you have of yours, not to Quashes's benefit in particular, but to save the great experiment of '61 from turning out a failure. More than twenty-five years ago, when a suspicion of its failure was regarded almost as proof of insanity, I stood together and warned the country that a moderate degree of justice to Quashes was the sole condition of its final success. Even if Quashes's slavery were proved just and a blessing to him, we told the country it was none the less a curse to it, and must be fatal at last. Such was the inevitable drift of facts and fate. Quashes's liberty might or might not abolish him, but it was absolutely necessary for ours. He must be free or we die slaves, or, what is a slave's worth, slave-masters.

When Washington, still in command of our revolutionary army at Cambridge—an army, by the way, composed of white and black men mixed indiscriminately—got hold of Lord Dunmore's letters to Howe, he wrote to Richard Henry Lee [see Sparks's Writings of Washington, Vol. III., p. 216], betraying more alarm than he ever did on any other occasion, to my knowledge. He spoke of Dunmore's schemes as "diabolical" and prophesied that he would become "the most formidable enemy" of America, and that his strength would increase faster than "a snowball by rolling" if some expedient could not "be hit upon to convince the slaves and servants of the impotency of his designs." Dunmore, by a proclamation, had called to his standard all "indentured servants, negroes or others, appertaining to rebels," with the promise of freedom, and had proposed to Howe to transfer the seat of war to the South. But before his proclamation could reach the servile population, either black or white, to any great extent, he was driven on shipboard, and special pains was promptly taken to convince the negroes that he was enticing them to his arms in order to sell them in the West Indies, and that on the other side, the colonists were resisting him and the ministry of King George out of compassion for the slaves and to stop the progress of slavery. [See Frank Moore's Diary of the American Revolution, Vol. I., p. 164.] This they could plead reasonably, because in the previous year, July 1774, Jefferson, in his letter to the Virginia Convention, had asserted that it was the evident desire of the colonies to bring about the abolition of slavery, but before they could free the slaves they had to stop the importation, and in this they had been thwarted by his majesty. I only quote from memory, but am certain that, in accordance with this letter, Virginia, in fact, opened her revolutionary career by solemnly refusing to import slaves herself or purchase them when imported by others. While this question as to what should be done to guard the country against such terrific appeals as that of Lord Dunmore, to both the white and black serviles, was still seething in Virginia, her Convention, in May, 1776, instructed her delegates in the Continental Congress to vote for a Declaration of Freedom and Independence of Great Britain, and also raised a committee "to prepare a declaration of rights, and such a plan of government as will be most likely to maintain peace and order in this colony, and secure substantial and equal liberty to the people." [Moore's Diary, Vol. I., p. 242.] That practical and conservative, rather than theoretical or radical, lawyer, George Mason, drew up the required "declaration of rights," which was unanimously adopted, and goes off as follows:

"All men are by nature equally free, and have inherent rights, of which, when they enter into a state of society, they cannot, by any compact, deprive or divest them of property, namely, the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the means of acquiring and possessing property, and of obtaining happiness and safety."

"They that have done these deeds are honorable men—So are they all, all honorable men!"

SAH! when the trials come to ourselves; when it is our property that is seized and confiscated; when our rights are trodden upon, and we are driven to the wall—how quickly is our vision anointed, and how clearly do we see the villainy of the men who dare commit such outrages! Now, I have seen all this, and ten thousand times worse than all this, daily, hourly inflicted upon millions of my fellow-creatures, in the persons of the slaves—millions who have nothing that they can call their own, and who are doomed to life-long slavery, cruelty and oppression; and I have said that those who thus deprive them of their natural rights, drag them down from their high position as immortal beings among four-footed beasts, deprive them of all power of development and acquisition, ought to be branded as guilty of the basest robbery and the vilest oppression; that there is no language adequate to depict their criminality; and, because the victims were black, I have been accused of using harsh and unchristian language! No, the language is not harsh, is not unchristian: it is impossible to call such conduct by any other name, and rightly define it. We must be, like Him who created us, no respecters of persons; but perceive and confess that the wrongs which are done to others, even the humblest of the human race, are as grievous to be borne, and as much to be abhorred and condemned, as though they were done to us.

Let us do what we can to change the public sentiment of the North, by a fearless and faithful proclamation of the truth. Alas! for the bitter and proscriptive prejudice which everywhere prevails against the colored race! Those whom we treat most injuriously, we hate the most intensely. It is a fearful retribution upon us, as a people, because we have remorselessly trampled upon the poor and needy. Yes, it is because we have taken the helpless and unfriendly negro, and said, "We will scourge him, work him without wages, deprive him of his liberty, treat him as a beast." God has sent this leprosy, colorophobia into our souls, and we are full of malignity and madness whenever the cause of the oppressed comes up, demanding full justice at our hands. Let us get rid of all this! Let us see in every slave, Jesus himself: let us endeavor to remember the solemn test in the great trial-hour. "Inasmuch as ye have not done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have not done it unto me"; and let the same horror fill our minds at the idea of a slave being driven upon a Southern plantation, as we should feel if we saw our Savior under the lash of the slave-driver.

I have thus very briefly, given you my "fanaticism" my "treason," my "infidelity." My cry still is, "NO UNION WITH SLAVERYHOLDERS!" Does not that sound well to-day? (Applause.) What Union has the South for you, O people of the North? You are fighting for the flag, you say—not for the abolition of slavery! Those whom we treat most injuriously, we hate the most intensely. It is a fearful retribution upon us, as a people, because we have remorselessly trampled upon the poor and needy. Yes, it is because we have taken the helpless and unfriendly negro, and said, "We will scourge him, work him without wages, deprive him of his liberty, treat him as a beast." God has sent this leprosy, colorophobia into our souls, and we are full of malignity and madness whenever the cause of the oppressed comes up, demanding full justice at our hands. Let us get rid of all this! Let us see in every slave, Jesus himself: let us endeavor to remember the solemn test in the great trial-hour. "Inasmuch as ye have not done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have not done it unto me"; and let the same horror fill our minds at the idea of a slave being driven upon a Southern plantation, as we should feel if we saw our Savior under the lash of the slave-driver.

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And what cause for any delay? What further provocations or perils are needed—if the claims of suffering humanity are not sufficiently imperative—to warrant the government immediately to enforce such a measure in self-defense, and to promote the general welfare?—a measure that would at once bring the rebellious South to terms, and quickly end the war, enabling the country to organize a majestic and enduring Union upon the basis of universal freedom, and putting an end to all sectional hostilities; so that, from ocean to ocean, the pulsations of the people shall beat together as one, and all shall be made happy in the light and liberty of Heaven! (Applause.)

TRUE GREATNESS. The only true greatness consists in an unconquerable purpose of obedience to God. It consists in adhering with energy and courage to truth and honor. It consists in our own minds, enlightened by revelation and following our own deliberate convictions of right and wrong. Yours, from lang syne, and forever.

CONTRABAND OF WAR.

From The Evening Post.

CHESAPEAKEN newspapers, we perceive, object to the view of the "contraband" doctrine expressed in this paper of the 26th ult., on the ground that Butler's decision was promulgated within the limits of a slave State, whose law must be paramount to that of the United States. Now, the law of Virginia may recognize slaves as property, but the Constitution of the United States nowhere recognizes a man as property. Which, then, is to be the guide for a United States officer? One writer says "Gen. Butler, in Virginia, is subject to the local law." If this be true, then Gen. Prentiss, in Illinois, is also subject to the local law of that State, and as on this question the laws of Illinois and Virginia differ, we have the extraordinary spectacle of United States officers in different parts of the Union acting each "upon his own hook," according to the local statute of the place in which he may happen to be. Can any one seriously take this as proper ground?

It is asserted that slaves "may, when belonging to enemies of the United States, be held as contraband." Are we, then, to have one doctrine of contraband and one method of applying it on shore, and a different one on sea?

If we declare that slaves are contraband, we must not be content with waiting for them to come to our lines; we must search for them vigorously, and take forcible possession of all that come within our reach. What would be thought of the navy officer who should ride quietly at anchor until a ship loaded with warlike articles might choose to come and be captured as contraband?

The government is bound to capture all kinds of property that is contraband of war. It must blockade the transit routes leading to the revolted districts, and permit nothing of this kind to be taken into them. Now, if slaves be contraband, we must do on land as they do at sea; we must not be satisfied with the few slaves that come to us, but seek for them.

It is argued that "Gen. Butler, in Virginia, is subject to the local law." The law of Virginia does not recognize slaves as property; but if our opponents be correct, all the Federal officers are subject to the local law of the State in which they may happen to be, and, therefore, they are subordinate to the power that administers the local law; hence, the principle being, worth nothing unless it may be carried to its full extent, the Collector of Charleston, in obeying the order from Gov. Pickens to pay over to South Carolina all United States customs money, acted with strict propriety.

The plain state of the case is this: Parts of the United States are in rebellion against the General government, and have raised forces of blacks and whites to obstruct the operation of the Federal authority; now, when the army marches into a rebellious district, if it meet a hostile insurgent force, is it to stop and consider which of the two races is the superior, and against which its energies should be specifically directed? If our troops are in pursuit of traitors, of what possible moment is it whether black men or white endeavor to stop their progress? What does the army know about slavery? Nothing whatever; the army is governed by United States law, which claims the entire population of blacks and whites as "persons." It is true some of the blacks are, by the laws of some States, persons in a peculiar social position—but when those persons are found in opposition to the Federal laws, it is evident that they are to be dealt with, not by the laws of their State, but by the law of the United States.

If, however, in defiance of the Constitution, the government shall assume the powers of the local law of Virginia, slaves undoubtedly will be contraband of war, and, of course, the conclusion will be that we must confiscate all we can—we must take them from friend and foe alike, as we do gunpowder and other contraband articles. If Gen. McDevitt should hear of a powder mill in his vicinity, it would not be his duty to blow it up, or take some step towards fulfilling the degrees of the country in relation to contraband? Is there any good reason why one description of contraband should be allowed to flourish in the disaffected region more than another?

Moreover, if this decision be retained, there must necessarily be a distinction made amongst negroes; for while the able-bodied can certainly be made useful to the insurgents, it is equally clear that children and the aged or infirm cannot.

Finally, when Uncle Sam has collected a large lot of "contraband," cut baw? Is the great republic to confiscate slaves to its own use as it does gunpowder? Must the President of the United States, ex officio, become a slaveholder against his will, by virtue of the Constitution? Is it intended to practice the absurdity of returning these persons to their disloyal owners when the rebellion is suppressed? If, on the contrary, we set them at liberty, will it not be prima facie evidence that the government once held them as slaves?

These considerations, then, constrain us to the conclusion that, during the insurrection, black as well as white persons must be viewed by the government as two classes; first, as persons in opposition to the authorities; and, secondly, as fugitives from service. If they belong to the first class, let them be treated, when caught, as other prisoners are; and if to the second, then they must be tried as the Constitution directs.

And this leads us to repeat, that while the United States military forces have no knowledge of slavery at all, and must treat all men they meet either as friends or as enemies, the civil and judicial power of the United States government can claim jurisdiction over black persons only when they are formally charged with being slaves and having escaped from one State to another. The recapture of a slave who has left his master—or been left by him—within the bounds of any State, and who remains in that State, is a matter with which the local State authorities alone have the right to deal.

THE SOUTH, AS SEEN BY A RESIDENT.

IA gentleman lately arrived in this city from New Orleans communicates to *The Christian Inquirer* a chapter of his observations and experiences, from which we copy as follows:

"The question is almost daily asked me, 'Is there not a still a good deal of Union feeling in Louisiana?' To a superficial glance, there appears to be none at all. She is, it is said—though probably the estimate is large—over twenty thousand troops, well armed and equipped for the field. A fair, gotten up recently by the ladies, and held at a three days' notice in New Orleans, whose object was to equip the volunteers, yielded upwards of thirty thousand dollars. Almost every Sabbath, flags are consecrated in the Catholic churches. All the Protestant clergy have enlisted either for distant service or for home defense. Men whose hair is white and thin, and whose hands are all unused to labor, drill every night, and only one feeling seems to animate the entire community. Merchants proclaim themselves ready to give their last dollar. Planters, in the event of the worst—say they will free their slaves, send them to the border, burn their plantations, and die amidst the ashes. The Confederate loan was largely and freely taken in the city. All the banks and insurance offices took each one hundred thousand dollars of it; and many a wholesale mercantile house has subscribed upwards of ten thousand dollars for the equipment and support of various companies. All this, you may be assured, is true. And yet, beneath all this, I may certain there is a strong love of the Union—an ardent affection for the 'old flag.'

Louisiana knows well that her prosperity has come, and must come from a friendly connection with the North and West. The most respectable and solid portion of the community, both of the city of New Orleans

as, for example, the communication between Mobile and New Orleans, is all carried on by roundabout and tedious railway lines, and flour is now selling at the latter place at eight dollars per barrel, notwithstanding the good crop, because there is no convenient way of transporting it. The Mississippi is effectively blockaded. The population of the most flourishing towns is diminishing by absenteeism; as, for example, there are at this moment one thousand three hundred deserted houses in Memphis, and the last and only hope of the Confederates is that England will become their ally without delay. If this is not done, they confess themselves lost.

With regard to the number of troops in Virginia, our informant says there cannot be less than 100,000, and the largest body of them is at and about Richmond. Their hope is to pursue a system of ambuscades and masked batteries, the mountains and deserts of that State being well adapted to such a plan of defence. He thinks they will fight desperately at least one great battle, counting on a success to help them abroad and at home.

Finally, our informant thinks if the North could make known to the South, in some unmistakable way, that it does not make war to abolish slavery, the war might be considered as almost over. The Secessionists feel and know they have entirely misjudged their case and their remedy, and the leaders tremble for their own personal safety.—*Even. Post.*

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JULY 20, 1861.

Correspondents will greatly oblige us by a careful observance of the following directions, etc.:

Letters enclosing matter for publication, or relating in any way to the editorial conduct of the paper, should be addressed, "EDITOR OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, No. 5 BERKMAN STREET, NEW YORK."

Letters enclosing subscriptions, or relating in any way to the business of the office, should be addressed, "PUBLISHER OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, No. 5 BERKMAN STREET, NEW YORK."

FIRST OF AUGUST CELEBRATION.

AGAIN the Anniversary draws near of one of the most benevolent and memorable events in the history of the world—ancient or modern—the Peaceful Emancipation of 800,000 slaves, the beginning of a great Act of Justice and Humanity, whose wisdom has at length compelled the acknowledgement of the world at large, even of the unwilling and prejudiced. The Emancipation of the slaves in the British West India Islands, on the 1st of August, 1834, ranks now in history as an event not less remarkable for its cheering results than for the benevolent and humane motives which inspired it.

The Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society invite the friends of freedom everywhere, all who are interested in the great events of human progress, and all who desire to see the barbarous, inhuman and unchristian slavery of our own land give place to the reign of Freedom, Justice and Peace throughout our borders, and throughout the world, to meet with them, at the well known and beautiful grove in ABINGTON, on THURSDAY, August 1st, 1861, in commemoration of the Day.

Let us all join to make this FESTIVAL OF FREEDOM worthy of the occasion, of the long line of effective meetings which have preceded it in honor of this event, and of the mighty object in behalf of which it held—the cleansing of our own land from the curse and shame of human slavery.

Eloquent speakers will be present. Railroad trains will run at reduced fares, etc. Of all which, further particulars hereafter.

W. L. GARRISON,
B. C. BROWN,
T. B. J. HENRY,
ELIAS RICHARDS,
ELBRIDGE SPAGUE,

Committee
of
Arrangements.

REMOVAL.

The Philadelphia Anti-Slavery Office has been removed from 107 North-Fifth Street to 106 North-Tenth Street—four doors above Arch, west side, nearly opposite the office of *The Friends' Review*.

All business pertaining to the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society, including the sale of anti-slavery books, the receipt of subscriptions for the *STANDARD*, *Liberator*, *London Anti-Slavery Advocate*, etc., etc., will be transacted as heretofore at this office.

EFFECT AND CAUSE.

EVENTS move rapidly in this fast country. They march there. They gallop, they fly. One has almost the sensation, in watching their progress, as one does in looking on as an express train dashes by at lightning speed. It is barely three months since Sumter fell. Who could foresee what has come to pass within ninety brief days, even when the news came of the opening of the batteries upon her walls? At the beginning of April, it seemed as if the whole land was given over hopelessly to the dominion of the Slave Power. The sympathy and loyalty of the Democracy and Bell-Everett were no more doubted at the North than at the South by the lookers-on at the outside of things. Secret associations, called together by mystic signs, without name or place, but with a date only appended, were known to exist all over the country. For there was no secret about them, excepting as to such particulars as might make them obnoxious to indictment. Their existence was avowed, and men bragged of belonging to them. The Mayors of this city and of Boston either belonged to them or were controlled by them. All the property and respectability of the North appeared to be ranged on the same side, though a decent share of self-respect might keep them personally out of such disreputable company. Of all this the slave-driving conspirators were kept fully advised, and it was on the faith of effectual help from this quarter of the country that the Great Rebellion was begun. They verily believed that the cannon aimed at Sumter would be the signal for revolution in New York, Philadelphia and Boston, as well as in Baltimore and in Washington, which would put down the Republican party and establish the dominion of the Slaveocracy over the whole country on an everlasting footing, through a reconstruction of the government and the virtual substitution of the Constitution of Montgomery for that of Philadelphia.

We all know how differently matters have turned out from what was expected. It is no wonder that Jefferson Davis should be astonished at the magic change, for all of us were almost as much so. Some of this change was occasioned by the very contempt our Northern behavior had been in our sometime Southern masters, and the indifference to decent appearances which it bred. Had they managed their treason a little more wisely, they might have retained their hold on many minds where they have now lost it forever, and have kept up that condition of clamor and confusion of ideas which has always been their chief element of success. Had they held on to the Stars and Stripes and maintained that they were the true United States government, and that Lincoln was an interloping usurper—had they refrained from firing on Sumter and kept back from the crowning folly of their piracy, they might have maintained a hold on large masses of Northern sympathizers and puzzled and perplexed great numbers of men of floating opinions, and perhaps delayed the action of the North until they had gained possession of Washington and put themselves into a position to carry on the war, if any ensued on Northern soil. But their course was such that scarcely *The Herald* and *Boston Courier* could make a stammering show of standing by them, even before the roar of popular indignation compelled them to change their front in the twinkling of an eye. The rebels misjudged their men, and thought to terrify or to conciliate them by the very means which consolidated the North into one united phalanx against them. Their conduct rallied against them as one man the very classes which had always been their firmest reliance. They thought that the humiliations to which the capitalists and mercantile classes had submitted for the sake of peace and a common government, had been endured for the love of these disgraces and of the men that dictated them. It was for Peace and Government that the North had submitted to the succession of compromises demanded by the South. As soon as it was discovered that peace and government were impossible until the rebels had been chastised and suppressed, those very classes were ready to join in solid column for their destruction.

Thus the very instincts of that false and selfish conservatism at the North, on which the South had

relied as their sure defence, united with the more generous impulses which led nobler souls to think of their country first and themselves last to produce that magnificent rising in the North, which has not had any precedent in the history of the world. But the causes of the state of opinion from which this state of affairs sprung are to be sought farther back and farther off than the mere assault on the flag and attack on the property of the nation by sea and shore. Such a rebellion as this never springs in a moment, fully armed, into existence, as it did out of the teeming brain of Satan, just as the great rebellion broke out in Heaven. Such movements grow, they are not improvised. The seeds of this Civil War were sowed long before Jefferson Davis was even heard of, or even Calhoun invented his theory of Secession. The taxes which the Enemy of Mankind had sowed in our field were suffered to grow up along with the wheat, instead of being rooted out in the beginning, and, at last, it became a question which was the Lord of the Harvest, the Sower of the Taxes or the Sower of the Wheat. This is now the question to be decided by the uprisings of arms. Slavery having been left alone when it was weak and might have been abolished without social disturbance, and not merely let alone but made an organic part of our institutions of government, it necessarily grew stronger and stronger until the element of our national weakness became the overwhelming power in our affairs. Its very weakness was its strength, and the insolence and rapacity of slavery waxed fat upon the sops that were thrown to it to keep it quiet. At last, its confidence in its strength and our meanness rose to a point which even Northern patience would not stand, and it inaugurated a rebellion for the overthrow of the government and the substitution of slavery for liberty as the corner-stone and the cap-stone of the new edifice which was to be erected on its ruins. And this was one occasion of the present hopeful condition of our affairs.

Another occasion is to be looked for in the very opposite direction. Happily, it is the nature of things that crimes should call into existence the passions and the processes which are necessary to their pursuit and their punishment. The outrages of slavery created, of necessity, the Anti-Slavery Movement, its deadly and incessant foe. While slavery was planting itself firmly, as it seemed, in the high places, striking its roots deep and rearing its head high and its branches broad, Anti-Slavery was busy at the roots and gradually sapping their hold on the soil from which they drew all their strength and pride. The slave-drivers knew the danger of these assaults, and they bade their Northern minions suppress them, or all the blessings of slavery would be lost to them. These faithful ones have never been dislodged to the inquisition, but have done all they could and dared, even down to the very instant that their hands were paralyzed. But, though mob violence, and ecclesiastical thunders, and the social ban were tried, the inevitable antagonism of light and darkness could not be destroyed, and by degrees the general mind of the North was instructed as to the true nature of slavery and its inevitable effects on their own slaves and the masters. These perceptions were not as clear, and the actions that followed upon them were not as resolute as they might have been. But they were sufficient to modify Northern feeling and action in Church and State, and, at last, the change was sufficient to secure the election of a Northern President, against the will of the South and of its Northern myrmidons. To be sure, this was effected by a slaveholder's intrigue, in order that the occasion of the contemplated *coup d'état* might be given. 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attempt its folly and crime anew! We have tried one experiment for more than seventy years, and the result is civil war for slavery. Shall we try it again? To drive South Carolina back into the Union with the same "institution" that has made her so trouble-some a member still untouched, yes, guaranteed and defended—it would be a poor waste of powder and shot to play that game! I heard a man talking on a steamboat on the Penobscot a few weeks ago. He said he had been a hunker, had done for peace all a decent man should, more too, as some of his neighbors told him. "But," said he, "I am satisfied we can have no quiet while slavery lives. I want to settle this matter so that it will stay settled, and that is to be by ending slavery. It would be mean in us to leave this to make our children's trouble!" The commandant of Sumner had taught him something; his "eye teeth were cut," as the Yankees say.

Men talk of our "glorious flag," but the question is, "What does it stand for?" Symbols are of value in proportion as they have a truth behind them. Let a living flag stand for a nation, gathered around some living idea, and it is a glorious reality—otherwise but a shadow, uncertain as the wind that lifts its folds, fling out the star-spangled banner to the breeze, and inscribe on it the motto of the old bell that hung in Independence Hall, "Proclaim liberty throughout all the land, to all the inhabitants thereof," and it becomes the sign of conquest, the hope of the oppressed, the light of the world, the harbinger of peace.

As towards the Confederate States, there is not a shadow of legal obligation to help slavery. Their foul rebellion has wiped that out. I remember how John Quincy Adams, ripe in long experience, grown clear-sighted by his earnest strife for Freedom, twice in Congress declared the right of government to abolish slavery as a war measure, in case of an emergency like the present. It may be said this is inhuman and forgetful of the master in blind love for the slave. Far from it. The master should not be forgotten, for he is of the same humanity with us. With emancipation comes peace and safety for him which he can never have without the slave, more than of Scott's army. On this point we have light from a new quarter. A Correspondent of the *Rochester Union and Advertiser*—"Iron Point"—writes to that widely circulated journal in words so wise that I must quote them; and they are humane too, as all words are.

"The horrors of war cannot well be made politi- and acceptable in the best of hands; but these may be mitigated somewhat. When the South is beaten, the humane Generals, who mightered the ends sought in the contest, will yet desire to shrink from the terrible idea of stimulating a servile demonstration upon our deceived and cowering fellow-citizens of the South, and would be justified in excepting everybody from the South, all such wanting blood-thirstiness. All nations being as all us would encourage or countenance a proceeding so horrid to contemplate as so hopeless of good results."

"The real danger on the contrary is, that our whole people would do as Gen. Butler has already done in Maryland, and should a slave revolt take place—that is—suppress it at all hazards, and then propose a compromise of our present trouble, without doing anything effectual toward preventing their future recurrence."

"Would not such an event be far more fearful to contemplate than even the worst that could attend a servile revolt, with our present condition of things? The present antislavery ideas of government and right, and, even—however it may be delayed—only in the destruction of the one, and the supremacy of the other, of these principles."

"While it would be reprehensible and wicked in the extreme to incite unrestrained and vindictive slaves to insurrection, rape, and no one could be found to justify it—yet it would not be wise, prudent, and generalis- ing such as the whole country should rejoice at, to possess Virginia by military power, and thus for the time being, supersede her local laws and institutions, and by proclamation give freedom to every inhabitant of the State."

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"You are expressing these views, Mr. Editor, as both novel and stupendous, and doubtless most of your readers will share in your opinions."

"Well, what then? The present contest must have some basis of settlement. What is the programme? With the North to recognize the independence of the South, and the South to acknowledge the government and the honor of the country with it, and forever after hold its peace?"

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Miscellaneous Department.

COPROMISE.

The veriest spawn of the "Father of Lies" is that creeping creature called Compromise.

A slimy thing in vilenous guise.

With the pontifical title—Compromise.

The tool of the weak—the scum of the wise.

Oh! men! beware of Compromise!

Crooked and dark the pathway lies.

Before the flood named Compromise.

Avoiding the gleam of good men's eyes,

Characterless creeps Compromise.

Two cowards at war—one of them cries,

"Let's settle the master by Compromise!"

So, wrapped in a screen that detection defies,

It stalks the umpire—Compromise.

Two thieves who grasp at a stolen prize,

Divide the spoils by Compromise.

A country groans and a nation sighs

When the leaders turn to Compromise.

Though folks may hope to strengthen ties

By Cotton bands of Compromise.

If you wish to see a nation rise,

Dark to speak of Compromise!

Accused he who sells or buys

His country's honor with Compromise!

Hang him high, and after he dies,

Write on his tombstone—Compromise!

Can never a plan devise

To save your land but Compromise?

Come to your senses! Up! Arise!

Ere you strike on the rock of Compromise!

Vanity Fair.

THE SOCIAL-SIGNIFICANCE OF OUR INSTITUTIONS.

[From a profoundable Address, delivered at Newport, R. I., on the recent Anniversary of American Independence, by Wm. James, we present these extracts.]

I NEVER felt proud of my country for what many seem to consider her prime distinction, namely, her ability to foster the rapid accumulation of private wealth. It does not seem to me a particularly creditable thing that a greater number of people annually grow rich under our institutions than they do anywhere else. It is a fact, no doubt, and like all facts, has its proper sensible significance when exposed to the rectifying light of Truth. But it is not the fact which, in a foreign land, for example, has made my heart to throb and my cheeks to glow when I remembered the great and happy people beyond the sea, when I thought of the vast and fertile land that lay blossoming and beckoning to all mankind beyond the setting sun. For there in Europe one sees this same private wealth, in less diffused form, it is true, concentrated in greatly fewer hands no doubt, but at the same time associated in many cases with things that go every way to dignify it or give it a lustre not its own; associated with traditional family refinement, with inoffensive, modestious manners, with the practice of art and science and literature, and sometimes with the pursuit of toilsome and honorable personal adventure. Every one knows, on the other hand, how little we exact from our rich men; how meagre and mean and creeping a race we permit our rich men to be, if their meanness is only flavored with profusion. I have not been favored with a great many rich acquaintances, but still I have known a not inconsiderable number, and I have never found them the parsons to whom one would spontaneously resort in his most celestial moments, or communicate with the most naturally in his deepest sorrows. Of course, I have known exceptions to this rule, men whose money only serves to illustrate their superior human sweetness, men of whose friendship everybody is proud. But as a general thing, nevertheless, one likes best to introduce one's foreign acquaintance, not to our commercial nabobs who aggravate the price of house-rent and butcher's meat so awfully to us poor Newporthers; not to our fast financiers and bank-cashiers who on a salary of \$3,000 a year, contrive to support in luxury, beside their proper wife and offspring, a dozen domestic servants, and as many horses; but to our, in the main, upright, self-respecting, and, if you please, untroubled, but at the same time unsophisticated children of toil, who are the real fathers and mothers of our future distinctive manhood.

No; what makes one's pulse to bound when he remembers his own home under foreign skies, is never the rich man, or the learned man, or the distinguished man of any sort who illustrates his history, for in all these petty products almost every country may favorably, at all events tediously, compete with our own; but it is all simply the abstract manhood of the country, man himself unqualified by convention, the man to whom all these conventional men have been simply introductory, the man who—let me say it—for the first time in human history, finding himself in his own right erect under God's sky, and feeling himself in his own right the peer of every other man, spontaneously arises and attains to a far freer and profounder culture of his nature than has ever yet illustrated humanity.

For, after all what do we prize in men? Is it their selfish or social worth? Is it their personal or their human significance? Unquestionably only the latter. All the refinement, all the accomplishment, all the power, all the genius under heaven, is only a nuisance to us if it minister to individual vanity, or be associated with a sentiment of aloofness to the common life, to the great race which bears us upon her spotless bosom and nourishes us with the milk of her own immortality. What is the joy we feel when we see the gifted man, the man of genius, the man of high conventional place of whatever sort, come down to the recognition of the lowliest social obligations; what is it but a testimony that the purest personal worth is then most pure when it denies itself, when it leaps over the privileged interval which separates it from the common life, and comes down to identify itself with the commonest? This sentiment of human unity, of the sole original sacredness of man and the purely derivative sanctity of persons, no matter who they are, is what we are born to, and what we must not fail to assert with an emphasis and good will which may, if need be, make the world resound. For it is our very life, the absolute breath of our nostrils, which alone qualifies us to exist.

The frame in which our human freedom expresses itself in these latitudes may be open to just criticism in many respects, I cordially admit and even insist; but he who sees the uncouth form alone, and has no feeling for the beautiful human substance within it, for the soul of fellowship that animates and redems it, for all that maligned, would despise the shapeless embryo because it is not the full-formed man, and burst upon the humble scorn, because it is not yet the branching oak. But the letter is nothing, the spirit everything. The letter kills, the spirit alone gives life; and it is exclusively to this undeniably spiritual difference between Europe and America as organized and expressed in our own constitutional polity that all our formal differences are owing. Our very Constitution binds us, that is to say, the very breath of our political nostrils binds us to disown all distinctions among men, to disregard persons, to disallow privilege the most established and sacred, to legislate only for the common good, no longer for those accidents of birth or wealth or culture which spiritually individual man from his kind, but only for those great common features of social want and dependence which naturally unite him with his kind, and inexorably demand the organization of such unity. It is this immense constitutional life and inspiration we are under which not only separates us from Europe, but also perfectly explains by antagonism that rabid hostility which the South has always shown toward the admission of the North to a fair share of government patronage, and which now animates her in the dirty and diabolical struggle she is in the human mind any longer actively to cooperate with it, all those interior and subtler shapes of evil which now infest us, and are held together by it as the viscera of the body are held together by the skin, will be dissipated along with it. We know not when the hour of this great salvation shall strike. We only know that, as God is just and sovereign, it must strike long, and that, when it does strike, the morning stars of a richer creation than has yet been seen on earth will sing together, and all the sons of God in every subtlest ineffable realm of His dominion shout for joy. Our government itself is waking up from its long酣睡, is beginning to perceive that there is something sacred than commerce on earth; that the preacher will say nothing to create an unpleasant sensation. No one, indeed, ever suspected him of excessive piety. Some of his friends have frankly confessed that his attachment to the forms of worship exceeded his love of religion. But it is shameful for those horribly earnest people out of doors to say, that he has no more faith in Christianity than the Grand Turk? For he has not a great dread of heresy and innovation? Does he not abhor the New Lights? Is he not a stanch friend of religious institutions, and has he not often been heard to speak of all comfort-loving souls? And so large is the spirit of the nation itself, that, in his tolerance, all religions are alike to him: one is no more true or venerable than another; he has a theory that they are all, at last, the same thing. And to show that this is not mere theory, he actually changed his religion two or three times in his life, from the mere tool it has hitherto been for adroit political knaves to do what they please with.

It is idle to talk of our political appointment. It is idle to spring up out of the ground, as having troubles as springing up out of the ground, as having no graver origin than party fanaticism or folly. These troubles, on the contrary, are the inevitable fruit of our very best growth, the sure harbinger, I am persuaded, of that rising Sun of Righteousness whose beams shall never again know eclipse. They are merely an evidence on a larger scale and in a public sphere, of the discord which every righteous man perceives at some time or other to exist between his essential human spirit and his perishable animal flesh. For every nation is in human form, is, in fact, an aggregate or composite form of manhood greatly grander and more complex than the simple forms of which it is made up, but having precisely the same intense unity within itself and claiming each of them a quickening, controlling spirit and an obedient servile body. This animating, controlling spirit of our national polity, like that of our own private souls, is divine, come from on high, exclusively, and is only revealed, never exhausted, only to be bodily or empowered, never belittled or enfeebled, by the literal symbols in which human wisdom contrives to house it. That part of the letter of our Constitution which best reveals the majestic human spirit that animates our polity, is of course its preamble. But the real divinity of the nation, its vital, imperishable holiness, resides not in any dead parchment, but only in the righteous, unselfish lives of those who see in any Constitution but the luminous letter of their inward spiritual faith, but the visible letter of their invisible worship, and rally around it therefore with the joyous unshaking devotion not of slaves but of men.

Now, such being the undivided spirit of our polity, what taint was there in its material constitution, in our literal material inheritance, to affront this righteous paternal spirit, and balk its rich promise, by enshrinéd in man's heart, the infinite Divine Truth enshrinéd in his understanding, and we shall fast glad to hang and shoot everybody who disturbs the peace of our country, and our literal material inheritance, to affront this righteous paternal spirit, and balk its rich promise, by enshrinéd in man's heart, the infinite Divine Truth enshrinéd in his understanding, and we shall fast glad to hang and shoot everybody who disturbs the peace of our country, and our literal material inheritance, to affront this righteous paternal spirit, and balk its rich promise, by enshrinéd in man's heart, the infinite Divine Truth enshrinéd in his understanding, and we shall fast glad to hang and shoot everybody who disturbs the peace of our country, and our literal material inheritance, to 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